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Italy, and the lesser folk we aided as was the doughboy. Moreover, the loans were simply for credit with which to buy goods in the United States. Surely, the Governor needs a tonic.

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THE first of the German fortresses on the Rhine to be dismantled under the terms of the Peace Treaty is to be turned into a hospital. A new and commendable variant of transforming "spears into pruning hooks."

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## THE WAR HAS NOT DESTROYED

### III. The Dignity of Human Character

By ARTHUR DEERIN CALL

IN SPITE of the war, in many cases because of it, human character has been seen to rise to impressive heights: now here; now there. It is not necessary to decide whether the war was won by thrift, applied science, ship-builders, doughboys, the four-minute men, generals, to see in all these the magic of human character working its way. Civilization at any moment in history is but a composite of collective human character at the time. Laws, institutions, inventions, ideals, arts, sciences are the products of it.

#### AXIOMS AND MAXIMS

The science of mathematics begins in axioms, those comfortable foundation truths, the validity of which is said to be self-evident and unquestioned. These axioms are the very foundations of the mathematical sciences, for upon them depends all the success attainable in those branches. If one gets lost in the puzzle one returns to one's axioms, and, reviewing afresh the general directions, one starts again on the new course inspired with new hope, soothed and sustained by the unfaltering axioms. Harnessing these axioms to such dark arts as addition, subtraction, multiplication, or division, marvelous feats have been accomplished, especially during the war, in enginery and trajections. The persistence, insight, and power of the human mind in the field of mathematics illustrates the dignity of human character beyond any layman's poor power to describe.

In a similar vein, men set up for themselves moral ideals, and, taking a leaf out of the arithmetics, they aim to fashion precepts, theorems or maxims for the scientific attainment of those ideals. Some of the furtive attempts to find for the moral world the equivalent of axioms end sometimes pathetically in quack aphorisms of finality, classified conveniently and ready for use quite as medicines in little bottles, labeled and ready at a moment's notice. Treatises on etiquette, manuals of polite behavior, indicate the natural, human desire for

rules. Helpful as these important works of literature may be, human character at its best sympathizes with nature and abhors rules quite as she abhors a vacuum. A lively man frequently defies the yard-stick and the balance. Mirabeau often tried to forget his formulas and start fresh. Learning rules for moral guidance leads easily to cant, and cant is simply moral imbecility. Pedantry and pious prudery are less popular than before the war, or ought to be. Axioms in morals, universally applicable, are elusive and hard to find, especially just now.

Yet human character is always a practical thing bent upon results. The light which it pursues is the light toward which the whole world draws. Human character has been the inspiration of Plato, Kant, Hegel, and all the others in the long line. To improve human character is the goal of all social effort. Men easily agree with Aristotle, who says in his *Nicomachean Ethics*: "From a practicable philosophical view, it much concerns us to know this good; for then, like archers shooting at a definite mark, we shall be more likely to attain what we want." A brainless morality is a contradiction in terms.

The very fact of existence means some measure of the desire to understand existence and to promote it. Human character is at once an acknowledgment and an interpretation of this desire. Whatever man's attitude toward rules may be, he is at his best when riveting his best attention upon those institutions which make for a more hopeful personal character among men. Because of the war he believes more than ever that if his institutions, the public schools for example, do not exist to furnish men with copy headings for the guidance of life, they do exist to furnish practicable principles just the same, to bring the nature of the highest good to clear consciousness and to indicate the nature of the means by which this good is to be attained. If his churches, for example, cannot indicate the rules by which men are to be guided, they must indicate the spirit in which lives are to be lived, the spirit, possible, tangible, and applicable, which giveth life. If it is in their introspective and inspirational rather than in their mandatory phases that public education, churches, and the laws accomplish their greatest good, yet it is seen that social service to be effective must be sufficiently mandatory to end in conduct, for conduct, be it of men or of institutions, including States, is the only evidence of character. The universal axioms of science, fundamental and mandatory, find their counterpart in certain maxims of the moral world, equally fundamental and mandatory.

#### THE THREE ATTITUDES OF MIND

The dignity of human character is not lessened by the foolishness of men any more than the sun is injured by

the mould of spoiling meat. If some men cannot rise above the savage, unreflective and childlike; if they be content to call themselves optimists, in some respects attractive enough and naïve; if they be comfortable in their passive contentment, a contentment which cannot really be contentment at all; if they prefer inaction and stagnation, sure to bring their own brands of discontent; if in their blind way they fail to see that as doubt is the effective spur of the intellect, so discontent is the hallmark of a healthy morality; if they do these things they belittle the dignity of no human character but their own.

The same thing is true of the pessimist, also passive, more reflective than the optimist, but bitter, cold, hopeless, and no less mistaken. There is no excuse for his attitude of mind, because, as healthy men know, good is in the world and to strengthen that good is in itself a good.

No Democritus ever jesting at the vices of men, no Heraclitus perpetually weeping over them, can detract from the dignity of human character, for Nature is neither a special friend nor a special foe to man. Nature is law, and both challenge and privilege are found in the adjustment of self to that law. Mr. Lester F. Ward was undoubtedly correct in teaching that in this sense man's destiny is of his own making; that, as in the physical so in the moral world, man can in profitable measure adapt to his purpose the natural forces around him.

Optimists and pessimists passively assume Nature to be acting upon man; but there is an interpretation of life that contemplates man as acting through Nature. There is something in human character, brought out in countless ways through this war, which has cast off the drag of optimists and pessimists and found nature to be as steam and electricity in the control of the engineer. This something is a mean between optimism on the one hand and pessimism on the other. It is an element in human character which aims at the perpetual betterment of man's estate through the increase of knowledge, through the mastery of environment, through the enrichment of human character itself. This third outlook upon life lying between optimism and pessimism is appropriately called meliorism, the quality in character which makes character possible. The modern attempt to dress it up and call it pragmatism does not change its validity.

To quote Dr. Ward: "Optimism may be said to be the thesis, pessimism the antithesis, and meliorism the synthesis of man's relation to the universe. The optimist says: 'Do nothing, because there is nothing needed to be done.' The pessimist says: 'Do nothing, because nothing can be done.' The meliorist says: 'Do something, because there is much to do, and it can be done.'"

The dignity of human character lies in this meliorism that leads men to seek light from all the suns of truth, to go forth to their tasks confidently, to face calumny fearlessly, to improve the circles of circumstance surrounding their individual lives.

#### HISTORY'S GIFTS TO THE ENTERPRISE

The growth of human character is possible because of the rich gifts from noble characters gone before. The Greek longing for self-preservation and self-realization, his affirmation of this present world, his thirst for perfection, especially in those intellectual qualities which we call courage, wisdom, temperance, enjoyment in this present world; his attainments in perfect beauty—all these enter into the fabric of men's characters today. As men grew later to believe in the opposites of these—self-abnegation, rejection of this world, spirit rather than intellect, humility, sanctity, holiness, death—so human character learned to pay its tribute to love, service, and sacrifice, interpreted afresh by Dante and by the poets of the long aftertime. The rebirth of classical antiquity in the Italian Renaissance led human character into a newer and possibly a deeper interpretation of freedom, into a re-examination of the rights and duties of individuals and of States, revealing new ranges and dignities in human character. Man because of these gifts from out the past is more tolerant, accepting truth out of Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Billy Sundayism, League of Peaceism, Woman's Suffrage, Prohibition, even Journalism. This tolerance enters into the character of our civilization and stamps it for weal or woe. The fundamental things of human character, therefore, are found not in Greek sensuous enjoyment alone, not in the medieval spiritual things alone, not in the blessedness of some hereafter alone, not in the Northland, with its bitter conflict between man and the opposing forces of cold and hunger alone; they are found in the increasing synthesis of the truth in them all. By this process of drawing from every reservoir of truth human character is intelligently engendered through deeper and deeper emotions guided by finer and finer insights.

#### THE GENERAL MAXIM ACCEPTED BY ALL

The dignity of human character appears in the well-nigh universal acceptance by men of a *General Maxim for a Moral Code*. This maxim includes a larger concept than the ordinary interpretation of vice and virtue in terms of habit. The mere habit of doing this or that may or may not be praiseworthy. Habit without reinforcement from a realizing sense of the content and importance of habit; habit with no spirit of ardent devotion to the motives and ideals out of which habits grow;

habit that leaves out the principle that "No heart is pure that is not passionate; no virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic;" habit that seeks excuses and rides on impulse; this is not the dignity that marks human character. The Benedict Arnolds of the moral world are men governed by mere impulse rather than by principles which weather the storms. The dignity of human character is seen often at its best when in opposition to habit. Principally does that dignity stand forth in the universal acceptance of a general maxim for the moral code of men, a maxim which runs: *It is the duty of every sane and moral being to do in the largest possible spirit all the rational good he can.* That men everywhere agree upon this general maxim for a moral code, at least in principle, is one of the surest evidences of the dignity of human character.

#### SPECIFIC MAXIMS ALSO ACCEPTED

Growing out of this general maxim are certain specific maxims, each of historical interest, of ethical importance, maxims universally applicable, witnesses also to the dignity of human character.

The first of these specific maxims marking the dignity of human character I call *The Maxim of Generality*. This maxim is founded in a classic moral law formulated by perhaps the most influential thinker of modern times, Immanuel Kant. Here was a man who gave to the world its "Critical Philosophy." The child of a saddler in old Königsberg, a place from which he never wandered for more than thirty miles, his influence has been very great. Thoreau once said of himself that he felt that he knew the world intimately, for he had "spent many years traveling in Concord." It was thus with Kant, who seems to have outlined for man what he can and what he cannot know. Fichte, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Herbart, each giving to the world a distinct system of thought, based their doctrines upon the teachings of Kant. Because of the decentralizing power of his infinite intellect he has been fittingly called "the Copernicus of modern philosophy." This man it was who gave rise to the "transcendental movement" in Germany, out of which arose the significant awakening in America during the middle of the last century, a block of time containing Ralph Waldo Emerson and Abraham Lincoln, a period that gave to men a new birth of intellectual and political freedom.

Kant taught that in the choice of this or that the question is not so much *what* is the meaning to us? but, rather, *how* are all to be affected by our actions? There are no perpetual antagonisms between the interests of self and of society. The interest of the one is the interest of the other. The maxim of generality is but the so-called "categorical imperative" argued for by Kant. This categorical imperative reads:

"Act as if the maxim of thy action were to become by thy will a universal law of nature. . . . So act as to treat humanity whether in thy own person or that of another, in every case as an end, never as a means only." When it comes to the choice include thy will and thy neighbor's in a harmonious unity with a perfect willingness to suffer the consequences of thy action. That was Kant's conception of duty, of the unity of moral effort.

Without examining too carefully Kant's somewhat rigorous conception of duty, we may agree with him that character is good will, "the only jewel that shines by its own light." We may agree with him that that will is good when it is determined not by material purposes, but solely by the respect for duty; or we may not. Yet writers generally agree with Kant when he says: "The pre-eminent good which we call moral can therefore consist in nothing else than the conception of law itself, which certainly is only possible in a rational being, in so far as this conception, and not the expected effect determines the will." Paulsen interprets this idea more clearly, as follows: "The moral laws are rules which are adapted to a natural legislation of human life—that is, rules which, if they governed conduct as natural laws, would lead to the preservation and perfection of human life."

Putting the matter briefly, the maxim of generality is: *Choose to act with a perfect willingness that the principle of the act be universally adopted.*

The more men consider this maxim, the more they accept it and act upon it, giving expression thus to the dignity lying deep in the thing we call character.

#### THE MAXIM OF EQUALITY

A second maxim generally accepted in theory at least is the *Maxim of Equality*. In a sense it is an error to claim that we are all born free and equal. The ancient faith is a very satisfying sentiment; but we are not born free, and we are not born equal. At no time are we less free than at birth. If wise, old age may acquire a measure of freedom; but infancy, never.

And yet, allowing for all the differences in nature and acquired abilities and opportunities, man has but one vote, one soul, one person. Every law-abiding individual has a right to his life, to his liberty, and to the enjoyment of these. Thus there is a kind of equality which comes from that fellow-feeling which makes us wondrous kind. There is a dignity and equality in man by virtue of the fact that he is living and struggling as best he can. A sense of proportion, a sense of the tragedy hovering over each life, leads us to look upon every human being reverentially as an equal before our Maker. The accidental discovery of Phillips Brooks caring for a sick baby in a poverty stricken quarter of Boston is a fine picture of the sweet spirit of equality. Men see a diviner something

beyond the storm and stress of competitive life. They warm to the picture contained in the words, "Suffer little children to come unto me, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." They do not approve the spirit in the words, "I am as good as you are"; but they do rise before the attitude of mind that says, "You are as free as I to do your best." That in all fundamental matters, such as law, life, liberty, happiness, men agree that they should act toward each other as equals they by that agreement reveal their own dignity and worth. Yes, men are born free and equal.

Failure here and there to observe this maxim, sometimes taking the form of ugly national and racial conceits, only emphasizes the validity of the maxim. Take the treatment of the Jew. The Christian Bible, Old and New, is a gift from the Jew; the Koran came from the Jew; Jesus was born of a Jew; Gambetta, Premier and Dictator of France, was a Jew; Count von Arnim, one of the greatest of German diplomats, was a Jew; Lasker, Bismarck's greatest opponent, was a Jew; Heine, the Lord Byron of Germany, and Berthold Auerbach, novelist, poet, and philosopher, were Jews; Disraeli—Lord Beaconsfield—Premier of England, was a Jew; Spinoza, the arch pantheist and teacher of toleration, was a Jew; the Russian sculptor Antokolsky, and Munacsy, the great Hungarian artist, were Jews; Rubenstein, father, interestingly enough, of Russia's great school of music, and both Rossini and Mendelssohn, were Jews; Baron de Hirsch was a Jew; the Rothschilds, England's greatest financiers, are Jews; Henri Bergson is a Jew. Many of our rising artisans, scholars, financiers, statesmen in America, are Jews; the Strauses, Schiffs, Speyers, Warburgs, Seligmans, Kuhns, Loeb, Baruchs, Rosenwalds, Lubins, Morgenthau. Yet even the children of Gentiles join in the mean business of ridicule and even persecution of the Jew. Quite lacking in historical sense it all is, and futile! Through the ages, without government, without country or united church, the Jew is still a Jew. Maintaining all his essential traits and racial qualities, he has persistently refused to be merged with the blood of the races which have dominated him. Through persecution, ghetto-ostracism, and slaughters, the Jew is as unconquered and unconquerable as in the days of Judas Maccabeus.

The maxim of equality, indeed, is that our actions should be shaped on the basis that *Every man should count as one*, one vote, one soul, one sacred personality, each with his own right and duties, be he Jew, Mohammedan, Gentile, or Pagan.

#### NEIGHBORHOOD.

The *Maxim of Neighborhood* is a third maxim universally applicable, illustrating the sense inherent in human character. The principle of it is that *We should help*

*most those whom we can most help.* If men feel in doubt about their duty to those far away, if they fear that they may not be doing all that could be done for the heathen of the islands of the seas; if there be friction between so-called home missions and foreign missions; if kind-hearted people regret that they are doing nothing for the slums of this or that city, for the Indians of the West, for the Negro of the South, for associated peoples or alien enemies in Europe; yet the character in them, the ordinary sense in them, tells them that they must help most those whom they can most help; for charity certainly must begin at home. "Give us this day our daily bread" is an integral part of our Paternoster. Unless we do get our daily bread we shall soon be incapacitated for helping others to get their daily bread or daily anything else. The club, even the church, is second to the home. Effective leadership receives its first practical test at the fireside of the home, and then, usually, with the neighbors down the street, and thence on.

When A. Bronson Alcott and his party of enthusiastic social reformers began their co-operative farm near the town of Harvard, Mass., Emerson wrote that if they did their work well, paid their bills, obtained the respect of their neighbors, and helped Harvard to a better plan of living, why that then they were "as safe as the sun." Human beings realize that the proof of the sincerity of their doctrines lies first in their practical effects near at hand.

*Help most those whom you can most help.* The universal agreement upon the validity of this maxim is evidence of the universal common sense near the center of human character.

#### CONFLICT IN WELFARES

A fourth maxim, accepted widely enough to be considered typical of human character, may be called the *Maxim of the Conflict in Welfares*. It is not necessary to prove that actual irreconcilable conflicts of welfares do arise. The victory of Miltiades over ten times his forces on the field of Marathon caused night to settle over eastern barbarism, and the torch of civilization to pass to the peoples of the West. It has been urged that that irreconcilable conflict at Marathon ended in a repressed barbarism, an enforced justice, and a more advanced civilization. Again, in after years, when Greece became proud and intolerant, she, herself, was sacrificed at Syracuse, 413 B. C. But this left Rome to conquer Carthage and the law and the language of the Latins to predominate among the Spanish, French, Italian, and the Anglo-Saxon races. Once again justice, it may be said, was enforced and civilization advanced out of an irreconcilable conflict. Take that indomitable "Scourge of God"—"Sword of Mars"—who, at the head of six hundred thousand barbarians representing the Scythian

advance, went down before the Aryan wing of power fourteen hundred years ago. No race stands for Attila today! Nothing but a memory, a departed nightmare. The blood-stained fields near Chalons stood for the check out of an irreconcilable conflict to the advance of ignorance and superstition. Liberty of conscience became a fairer thing because of the destruction of the Armada by men and storm on England's narrow seas. The defeat of Alva's infantry, when the redeeming waters of the North Sea flooded the tulip gardens of Holland, paved the way for Dutch and American liberty. The defeat of Georgian principles at Saratoga and Yorktown promoted faith in the equality of States. So with Hastings, Valmy, Manila, Chateau Thierry, each marks a crisis in the march of some error or despotism. We hear the echoes of a carnage, the moans of countless dying, the receding tramp of diminishing hordes, a horrible, unnatural madness; but from this blaring chaos men hear a harmony—the swelling music of an endless progress. *In cases of an irreconcilable conflict in welfares, the lesser and lower must succumb to the higher.* History teaches us that.

As long as men are limited in conception and vision, and in proportion to the limitation, just so long conflicts in welfares will now and then arise. Among men, among nations, irreconcilable conflicts have arisen and will arise where one welfare or the other must apparently be sacrificed. This is not fatalism. It is simply the inevitable event where self-interests are determined by uninformed and limited intelligence operating in an ungoverned world.

For all, therefore, the maxim is that in case of a genuine irreconcilable conflict of welfares between men or nations the lesser and lower must succumb to the greater and higher. When all progress and happiness vitally depend upon the vindication of the right as honest men see it, no maudlin sentimentality should be permitted to perpetuate the wrong. Revealing as far as possible the relation of the law to the nature of the discipline imposed, the maxim in case of an irreconcilable conflict between welfares is that the lesser must succumb to the greater.

#### PERSONAL PREFERENCES

In their choice of a life work, men reveal, too, their infinite characters, hopeful in the main. The maxim guiding them in these choices is the *Maxim of Personal Preference*. With all the many callings and opportunities, the problem of choosing a life work presents perplexities, indeed, a crisis. David Copperfield rather drifted than otherwise from stenography into law and thence into authorship. There seems to be a stream of tendency by which men drift naturally toward the things they most regard. Yet drift is not a safe guide. As-

suming that men do best what they best like to do, it is no criticism of their characters that they go about the business of bringing their forces to bear most vigorously upon those legitimate pursuits which most appeal to their interests. Among men who count, every legitimate work in this world is deemed honorable. There are many forces contributing just now to a greater dignity in common labor. There is less striving for clerkships and a more normal return to the sterner tasks of the farm and mill. The negro craves less for the Latin and the ministry. Partnership for labor and capital is on the way. The unnecessary frictions of life are being reduced because men, under our rapidly developing industrial democracy, are choosing those occupations which please and attract them the most. So thus we have another accepted maxim indicating the dignity of human character. *Choose among the legitimate occupations the one which on the whole and in the long run will please and attract you most.* That is good sense, proper morals, and effective social service.

#### DUTY AS AN OBJECT OF STUDY

*It is a duty to study duty.* This is a sixth maxim increasingly accepted because seen to be increasingly imperative. With the spread of public education, a reflective and judicial attitude toward the ever-changing problems of duty is bound to increase. Grasping the fact that life is more dynamic than static, that achievement is more a process than a state, that each new day brings its new occasions, men see that duty is not only an object of respect but a thing to be looked into. The processes of change are everlasting, moulded by the law of death or the law of evolution. The law of evolution itself is in a process of evolution. Duty changes. Thus where men rise to the advancing margin of life, they are seen to be examining the nature of duty. They say with Margaret Fuller that they feel "suffocated and lost" so long as they "have not the bright feeling of progression." *It is a duty to study duty.* That is a maxim universally accepted and, therefore, universally indicative of the dignity of human character.

#### HUMOR AND GENUINENESS

Seventh, and finally, men reveal their superiority over the brute by accepting the injunction to pursue the sincerity of joy and the joy of sincerity. Human character is rescued from the insanities by the saving element of humor. Taking oneself too seriously is the acme of unwisdom. It is more in the joyous intensity of objective interests than in the strenuousness of self-examination that character becomes truly human. Dickens illustrated this in many of his characters, particularly in the "firmness" characteristic of Mr. Murdstone. Men feel that they are not called upon to pattern after the gloom

of certain of the old prophets of Israel. If they aim toward the grandeur of, say, an Emerson, yet welcome as an attribute of their own characters something of the artful humor of a Lowell, they feel that they are themselves worth while. It is fun to be sincere. There are celestial lights which disturb the sincere man with the joy:

"Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime  
Of something far more deeply interfused,  
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,  
And the round ocean and the living air,  
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man."

But these lights are as gross darkness to the insincere man. There are two attitudes of mind defensible in logic: the attitude of prayer and the attitude of humor. *Pursue the sincerity of joy and the joy of sincerity.* That is the maxim revealing further the fineness of human character at its best.

But, it will be said, "this is 'Victorian stuff.'" Men who with little regard for art talk of moral codes merely, who with scant attention to causes call attention to effects only, who find in nature any perceptible stream of tendency warranting any measurable hope for stricken humanity, who speak seriously out of sympathy or sentiment as does, say, De Morgan in his "The Old Madhouse," is, charge the up-to-the-minute critics, guilty of a "last senile gesture of an age outgrown." So these my humble attempts to find here or there a comforting left-over out of the crimes and the blood-letting will, if anything, be contemptuously called "Victorian." Let the charge stand. The "red flare of dreams" is the peculiar possession of no special age.

#### CONCLUSION

My simple belief is that the World War has not changed the basic principles at the heart of human character. It is still the duty of every moral agent to do all the good he can. As human beings go about their business, they will continue to overcome the insipidities of optimism and of pessimism; they will profit by the mistakes and the achievements of other days; they will act with a willingness that their actions shall be taken as bases of universal laws; they will treat each other with a forbearance consonant with the fundamental principle of equality; they will continue to insist that the right shall prevail over the wrong; they will aim to render their greatest service where their greatest service can be rendered; they will accept the duty to study duty; they will reach ever forward toward that enjoyment which accompanies only that which is genuine. For, after all the needless dying, the divinity that distinguishes human character is not dead.

## THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE

Washington, D. C., Oct. 29.—Nov. 29

By GEORGE PERRY MORRIS

IN THE last number of the *ADVOCATE* comment was made upon the proceedings of the International Labor Conference, but the record could not be complete, as the assembly remained in session until the close of the month of November. Some of its European delegates left for home earlier. Others, following adjournment, visited important industrial and commercial centers, and the British delegation naturally improved the opportunity to visit Canada.

Strict adherence to work marked the deliberations of the members in their effort to get the new international body created and definite lines of procedure and policy defined. The various delegations, in most instances, were dinner guests of their respective nations' diplomatic representatives, and they also met to an inconsiderable extent some of the leaders of the radical wing of Washington's society. The United States as a nation showed no hospitality, nor could it with conditions at the White House and at the Capitol as they were. Federated labor, which had been invited to send a representative to the Conference, with the right to the floor but not to vote, after the first appearance of Mr. Gompers was not formally fraternal, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which had received a similar invitation, likewise paid no attention to it. Had not Secretary of Labor Wilson been in the chair, guiding the Conference, and had not the audience of watchers been fairly large, the Conference might just as well have been meeting in London, so far as outward appearances went. There were Senators, diplomats of high rank, scholars of repute, presidents of universities, heads of great industries, industrial experts, ministers of labor, and the foremost leaders of the conservative Socialist elements of Europe and Latin America among the delegates, but they were not treated accordingly. United States Senators of eminence attacked them, and the labor section of the Versailles Treaty, under which they assumed authority to meet, was rejected by the Senate. A more unfortunate time for the Conference to have assembled in the national capital can hardly be imagined. Nor have conditions in the country at large, which the delegates have been able to see, added to the foreigners' optimism about the state of American public opinion or the part that the Republic is to play in international labor action. As a matter of fact, in so far as the data laid before the Conference have been published, it has disclosed that Europe has not so much to learn from the United States in social-welfare legislation as Europe has inferred was necessary.

No acute situation over the Conference's decision to admit German and Austrian delegates arose, for the simple reason that the Austrian delegation did not start. The German delegation stopped on its way, when it was told that the Conference would adjourn prior to the date of the earliest possible arrival. The Central Powers will now deal with the permanent officials of the International Labor Board which has been set up, and places